sexes are still intermingled, the party splits into two parts, one surrounding the father and the other, his wife. Thus there are male guests formally invited, the women are withdrawn from sight and the food is served in a grand array in the guest-room by male servants or children. The usual practice is for the guests to eat quickly, standing around a table in the *divekhana* or a room neighboring the kitchen. It may be supposed that the older usage of sitting on the floor and taking greater leisure with the meal, still to be found, was once more widespread. In this connection, one might note that squatting on the haunches is used only by the lower classes, while sitting in a chair or cross-legged on the floor is customary for those of higher social status. As elsewhere in the Islamic world, to sit with legs outstretched in front of one is considered the height of boorishness. The etiquette of dining, although far less detailed, is not greatly different from our own, and it is considered impolite to eat too ravenously, to serve oneself an outsize portion, to belch, and the like.

The native dress of the Kurds is extremely colourful, in contrast to that of many of their contemporaries in the Middle East, and they make greater use of brighter hues and strong contrasts than the subdued tones and darker shades encountered elsewhere. In discussing this subject, three types of clothing, often intermingled in the same costume, can be distinguished, that which is typically Kurdish, that which is Arabic, specifically from southern

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keep their wives in seclusion, and this practice has quite recently sprung up being due to Turkish influence ...."[9]. And Edmonds writes: "Many travellers before 1914 recorded their impression that Kurdish women enjoyed in general a good deal more freedom than their Arab, Turkish and Persian sisters"[10]. In regard to marriage and the polygyny customary by the Greek and known in other Muslim areas, Eagleton[11] declares that: "The Kurd lives north to south in monogamous" adding[12] "Any intercourse between the sexes is the rule, and the result is a large number of love marriages ....".

It is here that the individual Kurdish women of the upper class has, in situations difficult for the Kurdish people, sprung into the limelight, which seems incompatible with the view adopted concerning woman's restricted possibilities of action in Muslim areas, but may possibly be due to the prominent position of their families[13]. Khanum Ghanim Pasha, Lady Adila of Halabja[14] of the Ardalan Yezir family, married to Osman Pasha of the Bapirdir family, is the best known case. Her husband, towards the end of the Turkish period, was made governor in Halabja. Even whilst he was alive all effective authority passed to his wife. In 1918 Major Soane lived as a servant with her son, Tahir Beg, after Soane had occupied Islam in 1918 and, under the name of Mirza Ghulam Hussein, travelled in these areas in disguise. Later, under the British mandate after 1918, it was she, now a widow, with whom the British political officers negotiated. Her personality must have been

Fig. 2. Village ethnomusicology. Married women at the garden house, Sarbun.
Fig. 3. Village ethnomusicology. Married women working cigarettes, Sarbun. (See p. 10).

Fig. 1. Peasant women tasting bread on circular iron sheet. Sulaimani. (See p. 43).

a very strong one as she was definitely in opposition to Sheikh Mahmud of Sulaimani, head of the holy family of Barzinji (Kurdish?), and the representative of the dream of a free and independent Kurdistan. Lady Adila died in 1930 during the British mandate period. She grave, which I visited at a burial ground near the village of Abdulahe, some distance from Halabja, was in 1997 deserted and neglected. My interpreter told me that it was in accordance with Lady Adila's own wish that her grave was neither marked nor maintained, but added that people drove sheep and goats over the grave, and that, altogether, there was but little sympathy for the memory of Lady Adila of Halabja, an attitude that appeared to be shared by my interpreter, who, on another occasion, inflamed with the deepest resentment to Lady Adila's political opponent Sheikh Mahmud, as the real ruler and noble (Sing) of Kurdistan.

Whereas Lady Adila thus cooperated with the British mandate authorities at the beginning of the twenties, another prominent woman, Safia Khas, cousin of Sheikh Mahmud and married to his brother, Sheikh Kader, arose in the opposition circles of Sulaimani. She was sufficiently wise to accept

responsibility for a group of British officers which had been taken prisoner by her cousin and brother-in-law, Sheikh Mahmud, during the disturbances in that area in 1919. The relation of this was discontinued shortly afterwards when Sheikh Mahmud was captured near the Persian Pass and, on account of her behaviour, a sentence of death passed upon him was reduced to imprisonment for life[1], which later was concluded.

Another prominent Kurdish woman, Fatima Khan, is referred to by Edmonds[2]. After her husband's death she administered his estate which comprised eight villages. Shared by the inhabitants of the villages she negotiated, although a woman[3], with the government authorities.

The information available from various male authors can be summed up as follows: The Kurdish woman is said to possess a far freer position than is the case in other Muslim areas. She does not veil, except in towns and other surroundings. Monogamic prevails. "Love marriages" are seen.

Below I shall describe the extent to which this information tallies with my personal experience as a woman amongst Kurdish women in Southern Kurdistan.

Fig. 1. Peasant woman smoking chibuk in a smoking gathering. Tegawah.

Fig. 4: Urban nuclear, Kurdish-speaking married woman and unmarried girl using tap in the municipal fountain.

The Kurdish women whose cultural patterns are to be considered below cannot, in any case, be grouped under the common denominator of "the Kurdish woman". Even on the basis of such selectively limited investigative material as was available to me, four different female environments can be pointed to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division is that between village and city-related environments, but these two groups can be further subdivided, though on different principles.

The village milieu can be sensibly divided into two strata, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the former belong the chiefs' houses in Tirgaverre, Shaikhs, Bergalu and Serkan. I visited peasant houses in Tirgaverre, Kilgarre, Mirze Kamran and Bellike. The police official's house I shall refer to as the fancy house of Mirze Kamran was in between the two.

The provincial city environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban milieu) I first met with in the town Lewa capital, Sulaimani, two days in Kirkuk, Halabja, Tuwella and Koreradze. The women of this urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given schooling, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These two groups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the home of my interpreter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group whilst the daughters had attended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of urban women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

The part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern sub-tropical zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a hot, rainless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent storm on June 5th (1987). The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part built together in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat roof of the outermost house forms an open space outside the one above it. The accommodations consist of accessible rooms built of sun-dried and burnt-clay stones, on the bottom of stone rubble courses. No attempt has therefore been made to level the ground. The watercourses and springs

Fig. 28. Lane in Sulaimania. Left: wall of burnt bricks. Right: wall of mud bricks.
Fig. 29. Mud wall with entrance to building areas. Woman is milking draught ox in building area, Sulaimania.

The house now to be reviewed as a type of residential background for the two feminine environments in urban surroundings, is the family house of my interpreter in Sulaimania. The father was a businessman who, as representative for a big firm in Baghdad, had a shop for electrical articles in the main street of Sulaimania. Although he lived in these modern things the business was [illegible] up the use of the larger booths in the city with a serpentine-covered bench for the customers and a small workshop table for the proprietor—for example, just like a goldsmith's booth.

In addition to the husband, about 40, the family in this home consisted of two wives, 33 and 31, and eleven children. Of these five were sons: 20, 15, 8, 6 and about 4 months, and six daughters: [illegible] eldest, 23, the others 23, 17, 14, 12 and 3. A 19 year old daughter was married and lived with her husband's family (joint or extended family household). Normally, then, 14 persons lived in the home.

Like the Shaikh property at Tuganma, the home was an entity shut off from the world around although not resident in a detached house. It comprised one of a row of row-terraced houses built together in the older quarter of Sulaimania, and looked out on an unpaved alley between [illegible] windowless walls. The house consisted of an older part built of sun-dried clay bricks, and a newer section built of fired yellow bricks. Both parts had a roof of poplar rafters covered with [illegible] brushwood and a rolled clay roof on top. The only difference between them was that the rafters of the older part of the home projected, as is the case in village architecture, like a strong eave for the protection of the clay roof, whilst the clay roof had almost no projection over the brick walls. The house was constructed around a courtyard. Apart from the iron entrance door it was completely shut off from the outside world. The entrance door was at one end of the wall of fired brick that also

apparently more important than the private life of the individual or the married couple but a complete room for male guests should be maintained in such wise that they could come and go without being seen by the women of the house.

WOMAN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE HOME

The activities of Kurdish women comprise the following eleven occupations: Baking of bread, manufacture of milk, making of tea, smoking, fetching water, collecting fuel, treatment of grain, washing wool, making and loosing of clothes, cleaning the house, and making beds. They rise at about 5 a.m., relax or sleep during the middle of the day, and go to bed between 11 and midnight.

Baking of bread. Kurdish bread consists of circular pancakes, sale, of the thinness of paper, about 30 cm. in diameter, crisp when new, as soft later than it almost resembles weak leather[1]. The dough, lorik, is prepared from wheat flour, dirt, sifted through a coarse sieve, water, dirt, and salt, and it is kept in a sack or bag, ulu-dik,[2] of knotted or woven material (S. 2377). Yeast is not used, and when the dough is prepared it is immediately ready for use. It is kneaded in a large, flat, circular copper dish (tawa) on the inside, with an edge about 10 cm. high. The dough is loosened from the dish by the help of a flat iron spoon, (S. 2360) about 20 cm. long, the handle of which ends in a loop. The dough is formed by hand into lumps, gumrik, about the size of a deceased fist, which are laid out, often on a plastic cloth, for later use. The forming of the dough is done in two ways, the one shown depending, so far as I could discover, on whether the baking was to be done in a jar-shaped earth

Fig. 43. Baking. Dough shaped on plastic cloth upon baking pillow. Tryavna.
Fig. 44. Baking. Dough is rolled out upon baking sofa. Tryavna.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Washing up and laundering. All washing up is done in cold, running water, very thoroughly and carefully, nothing being used except the white household soap also used for washing clothes. The only domestic utensils that come into contact with boiling water are the tea glasses while tea is being served. Clothes are washed in hot water, soap flakes or white and brown household soap being used. Water for the washing of clothes is, in the villages, boiled in a iron pot over a fire in the courtyard, and the clothes are rinsed in cold spring water at one of the baths. Clothes might be hit against a stone or beaten with a wooden bat, incidentally, few of the materials used for dresses were suitable for washing. The materials with metal worked into them, the coloured silk and artificial silk materials, lost a great deal of their beautiful appearance when coming into contact with soap and water. These two metal were naturally the white and dark. Several cotton stuffs, in fact the cheaper ones that constitutes an economic factor in our mode of dressing is unknown to the Kurdish women. It was said that in the olden days, before European soap a grass root or soap root was used. Articles of clothing are kept in metal chests, with tobacco leaves inside against moths.

Ironing is done with an iron filled with glowing charcoal or, in towns like Kirkuk and Sulaimani, with an electric iron. There are no ironing boards. Ironing is performed on the floor with a carpet as underlay, the ironer on her haunches. A table and standing position is the exception, the squatting washing position being preferred.

Cleaning. As there were no wooden floors in the houses I lived in, I found that a floor cloth was something seldom seen, and used only on tiles in Sulaimani. Clay floors, countyards and roofs were swept with a broom, gerd. (S. 2276), made of two pallet leaves tied together, the ribs of which were all laid on the same side and were together so that it resembled a fan, 0.40 m. long and 0.27 m. broad. The brush, which is quite cheap and quickly worn out, is bought in the city. The dust swept up, the dirt and refuse can, for example, be put in a paper can and emptied. Cleaning work the women mostly on her haunches across the floor, sweeping away from, not towards, her. In the summer all floors are daily sprayed with water or, as in Sulaimani, watered with a hose in order to clean the floor, to create coolness and, particularly, humidity in the extremely dry air. Rugs and underlying mats, which at the beginning of summer are rolled off the floor and stacked on a wooden bench in some room in the house, are filled with clay dust, which the dressmaker vitrifie shows, but there is no serious beating

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Bedmaking. Made beds do not exist as a common factor. As formerly mentioned, women make the beds each evening and remove them in the morning. The iron bedsteads there may be in the house stand during the day like bare skeletons on the loggia, the roof, or wherever the family has elected to sleep at night during the summer heat. In the villages common beds are arranged with breadth-covered forks, resting, for example, on four gerod sticks. Generally, a "bed" merely consists of a mat on which a cotton mattress is rolled out. For covering a quilt is used, with or without the cover-sac, envelope-shaped, cotton sheet, which is not adapted for changing as it has to be unstitched. Under sheets are rare. The pillow is a cylindrical cushion. If there is any kind of pillow case it is of cotton and shaped like a roll around the middle of the cushion. It is not meant to be changed, often

92 Working postures

356 543 All households and workrooms are rolled together in the morning and piled on top of each other, the undermost being covered by a woollen rug, hand- or [illegible], cf. 333, 3.80 m. × 1.40 m. brown-red/gold, or a carpet of Arabian extract with stripes in bright colours cf. 335, 3.00 m. × 2.27 m.). Some mattresses may be covered with Ecuador cotton material, and are, with the pillows, rolled out on the floor by the side of one of the walls of the house as sitting places for several persons, or, after the midday meal, rolled out for guests in order that they can sleep during the hottest hours of the day, covered by a large piece of cotton-like gauze, which reduces quite well each like at the height of summer.

516 Working postures. In a culture like that obtaining in Southern Kordofan, where the floor is the place one eats and sleeps, the postures of necessitators is quite different from that existing in Western cultures.

A seated working posture, with the legs bent in a right angle at the knee, is only met with when working with the pit mortar-boards, where the pit dug in the earth affords room for the lower legs, and when using the simplest sewing implement.

Standing working postures are extremely rare. Only on one occasion have I seen the kneading of dishes taking place on a table in the same way as we are use are kneading bread.

462 516 Apart from this all work is performed by the women in a squatting posture or in a tailor's position with the lower legs enough bent. The washing of dishes is performed squatting, whether at the water basin or at a circular, flat-horizontal, metal vessel on the ground by the legs. The same position is adopted when cleaning poultry and carrying meat. When kneading and rolling dough, and baking, whether on the earth oven or on a metal sheet, it is done in a tailor's position, whereas women squat at the vertical loom, when using up the warp, working by the fire and when washing themselves at the basin or the jug. The same applies to the washing of hands, the rinsing of mouth after meals, and when soaping and rinsing the body with the aid of a small metal bowl during the steam bath in the bathroom.

516 More natural the squatting position was could be seen in the case of an Iraqi family, friends of Sheikh family in Tripoura. This family lived in one of the Anglo-French army houses on the Sidon Deir Sin. Over washing up took place in this position with the dishes in a rectangular basket and the washing up rack on the floor although the building possessed a kitchen table and a stainless steel sink. All meals in this house, including the making and serving of tea, were served for the women on the floor despite the fact that there were chairs and tables in another room, and the parquet floor had to be thoroughly dried afterwards, whereas had it been a clay floor the water spilt during the making of tea would have been absorbed. Even though my interpreter's house at Sidon had a European fireplace, complete with rug, both him the wall [illegible] high from the ground, the women squatted themselves in a squatting position, sitting on the edge of the mantelshelf instead of washing their hands, face and feet standing in front of it.

In the tailor's position the thighs and bent knees were not pressed outwards but settled down on the ground under their own weight. The [illegible] softness ligaments in the hip joint[illegible] allowed the thigh bone to slip out of its socket. Mobility of the thigh joint is combined with great flexibility

of the back which gives an extraordinary outline of action. In the squatting position the body is suspended from the knee joints. In this position also women have a big outline of action, and the flexibility of the knee joint is retained to a ripe age. I once saw a 70 year old woman whose body, was as supple as that of a young girl.

Working positions on the floor with outstretched legs are only used exceptionally, when the feet are to be used to rotate and roll of a rope to be plaited or a rope for the reinforced

I saw the squatting working posture transferred to an ordinary chair when my interpreter sat on her haunches on the seat of the chair with her middle work, resting on her downs up knees.

The taller posture is often used by men when resting in the large, stoney valley, the bare narrow streets of which furnish clear evidence of the many walled flat that have been placed on them. When sitting on the floor furniture is often used as a back rest instead of a wall.

The great suppleness of the hip joint of the knee figurantes are the reason why, when wearing European western dresses, the Kurdish women in fashionable sitting on chairs in Western fashion often forget command of their legs, which fall one to the side in a unstable.

Rests in the back, some and attempts are made to get rid of it by massage, as in bad cases, by crawling on each other. The women suffering from the complaint like doubling up the floor and another stops onto her back. This complaint may be due to long history of work, the example taking in a tailor's posture.

In they tasks as though the back is exercised on various occasions by having to be kept upright in the tailor posture. On the other hand we also of still lower may seen as a result of a permanent squatting working positions, was also women suffer from back legs, condition as "stiffback" then.

The Kurds possess great pliability of body. Working positions are adopted in a completely relaxed manner and are of great static beauty.

Fig. 21 Working position.

HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO FOUR FEMALE ENVIRONMENTS

Village anniversary. In Tejuosa the baking of bread takes place about three times weekly in the home's earth oven. This is attended to by three women at a time, mother, daughter and servant girl, or mother, daughter and a neighbour, who in addition also did her own baking in order to utilize the oven's capacity.

Goats, sheep and cows are milked by mother and daughter as long as the cattle remain home in the morning. When, in the summer, the sheep and goats are handed over to the care of the village shepherd, the servant girl goes out to the mountains twice a day, at about 11 a.m. and 3 p.m., with the other women of the village to meet the shepherd and the charges. Water is made daily in the home. Butter is churned every morning. The churning vessel is hung up on a beam in the southhouse or on a beam

Fig. 36. Woman smoothing tallow for the Ten Tejuosa.

Fig. 43. Ghanaian fishtail vessel + stick is fastened to a gum. (Cf. fig. 44). Sangha.
Fig. 44. When glazing a rope the fork is used both by men and women. Sangha.

be done by either men or women. On the other hand it only are men wearing vests (Mbre Bassers). After the material of narrow widths has been woven to suitable lengths for jackets (5 yds.) and trousers (12 yds.), respectively, it is "glazed". The narrow piece of material is folded to a third or quarter of its width, wound around a flat wooden stick (S. 2296), 0.33 m. long, and secured by a stitch or so. The wound material is then boiled in a pot for a few minutes, removed from the stick and stretched out to dry in its folded state. After this the material is permanently glazed with two or three sharp pieces in each stick breadth (cf. fig. 45).

The production of clay vessels. There are both glazed and unglazed red clay vessels. The glazed ware are sold in the city of the bigger provincial towns where the women buy them for storing various things, including butter.

The unglazed vessel (S. 2295) is used to fetch water from wells and basins and for storing drinking water (are dusty spots in the courtyard or living room). These unglazed vessels are produced of local clay in the villages. They are not made by the individual women for her own use, but by a pair of specially expert women working together with a view to sale. The jars, which are open or low bottle shaped are both lip of clay coils without the aid of a potter's wheel*. They are then polished inside and out, fired on the side with a bast handle between the body and neck, and decorated with a curved rim affixed to the body opposite the handle. It is then further embellished by slight impressions on the rim and an engraved longitudinal groove on the outer side of the handle. When the jars have

evening gown being worn by a Kurdish lady at afternoon tea. It is typical that Europeans know nothing about the Islamic woman's world within the seclusion for which it was designed: to belong.

The semi-formal urban environment. In this milieu also the Islamic elements, face veil and head cloth, are the most important, obligatorily outside the area of the home. Under this dress, and in the home, a costume is worn composed on exactly the same lines as that worn in the two village environments. As regards the material it is characterized by the use of both the velvet, silk and brocade of the village ceremonial and the cotton materials of the plain village costume, in the semi-formal urban environment mainly worn by the elderly. In this milieu, as in the two villages, the turban and its accessories are customary for the married women, whilst the unmarried only wears a head veil.

Fig. 44. Ordinary peasant environment, Konya.
Fig. 45. Traditional urban environment, Kahramanmaraş.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 93. Treatment for rheumatic pains. The daughter standing on the back of her mother, Sulaimani.

and placed on a rug or small mattress on the floor. The children were 5 years and 4 months old, respectively. The little girl lay covered with a towel. No doctor was summoned to issue a death certificate. It was said that this is unnecessary in the case of small children. The death is notified later to the authorities. As the funeral was to take place the same day, one of the men of the house was sent to the *sūq* for a suitable piece of white cotton material for the ornaments, whilst the women of the house heated water for washing the corpse. This must include both the small wash, performed prior to prayer: hands, forearms, feet and a light smoothing of the hair on the head with a damp hand, and the big wash, which includes the whole body, so that the deceased achieves complete ritual purity[49]. The little girl had died in the neighbouring house to my interpreter's house in Sulaimani, where I lived. It had originally been an ordinary rich man's house, but had now declined into a slum building inhabited by several families. In the centre of the courtyard there was a watercourse from which the several families on the property fetched water for household purposes. This water, the doubtful cleanliness of which was possibly the cause of the little girl's illness and death, was not used for washing the corpse. Many petrol cans of good municipal water were fetched from my interpreter's home, where water was laid in. A big cauldron was put over a fire in the courtyard. On the floor in one of the rooms at the side of the dead child sat the mother, grandmother and aunt, mingling the child and bewailing its death. This death lament, an old heathen custom, has been retained although

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MAII Hard MAII

CHAPTER V

WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ISLAM

As we know, the five pillars of Islam are: The confession of faith, the five daily eulogies of Allah, generally known as the five daily "prayers", the duty to give alms, the fast in the 9th month, and the pilgrimage to Mecca undertaken in the 12th month of the Muslim lunar year[1].

Whereas the confession of faith is not dealt with in the law books of Islam, the other four pillars, coupled with the necessary ritual purity when reciting the daily prayers, form the five religious acts or pious exercises that comprise the actual cult of Islam.

What place has this cult in the life of the Kurdish woman?

With the synopha of Paradise, houris, awaiting the faithful in Paradise—an idea that only appears at the beginning of Mohammed's revelations? and is later dropped?—the Islamic woman, in our Western conception, is to some extent excluded from the religious life of Islam. The same impression is gained by a visit to a mosque. Whereas in our Western culture, most of the congregation that assembles in church on Sunday—the only day devoted by us to religion—are women, few women are seen in Islam's ever-open, carpeted, silent house of prayer, the mosque. When women go there it is only within a definite area barred by a low railing at the far end of the building.

If without access to a Muslim home, one therefore gains the impression that in Islam a life of piety is a matter for the men, yet it is only at the Friday midday prayer that men congregate in the mosque to any great extent. The men who visit the mosque daily and at several of the five daily prayer times, are those who in their homes or at their places of work have insufficient room and quiet to pray and to perform the prior, ordained ritual washing. Most other men say their prayers in their homes, their booths, or at their place of business[2]. Kurdish women were found to possess a warm and living interest in their religion, but their piety is exercised within the home.

Among the women of the village aristocracy in Topzawa, the five daily prayer periods were observed with the utmost devotion.

The midday prayer that begins the day was observed individually—but like the others, in common—by the two adult women in the house and the 17 year old daughter shortly after noon and for up to one hour later. The prayer rug, *Jâ-nmâz*, (E. 2254) of goat's wool, rectangular in form, 1.40 × 1.16 m. in size, woven in grey and brown natural-coloured yarn, wedge patterned, was placed on the floor in the three-walled room, the axis of which was orientated towards Mekka. The women tied the

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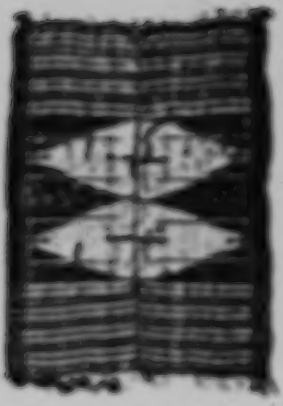

Fig. 9a.
Prayer rug of goat's wool in natural colours. (E. Ehrl). Tegumm.

loose-hanging ends of their white head veil down over the head with the ends round their necks, so that the veil formed a hood which allowed only the face to be seen. If wearing shoes they stepped out of them, and with their bare feet trod on the hem of their long kirtle, thus hiding their feet. They then loosened their long, wedge-shaped sleeves that were either wound round their forearms or hanging down their backs, tied together at the ends, so that they fell to the ground over hands and fingers, which were thus also hidden by the costume. When these preparations were concluded, the woman adopted the first position of prayer and announced her intention of praising God, which constitutes the introduction to the prayer itself. She then raised her hands with the palms turned forwards within the arms of the kirtle until they were outside her ears and announced "God is great"—. She then lowered her hands and, with the right hand grasping the left wrist, recited the opening Sura of the Coran, followed by one or more passages from the holy book. She then bowed forwards from the hips with her hands on the knees, then went down on her knees to perform the double prostration of which the midday prayer comprises four sets, *rak'a*, ending in the kneeling position whilst reciting the declaration of faith, the ritual greetings, and turning the head first to the left and then to the right. According to Juynboll[9], the prayer can be divided into nine positions, the positions 3-8, that is to say six positions, constituting a *rak'a*, whereas Gibb[7] allows seven position to each *rak'a*, as he includes the first standing posture and counts one standing position between, or as a beginning of, each *rak'a*.

The afternoon prayer, like the midday prayer with four *rak'a*, was usually said on the clay roof about 4 p.m., shortly before sundown.

On the other hand the sunset prayer with only three *rak'a*, took place down in the three-walled central room at about 5 p.m., as did the evening prayer comprising four *rak'a* at 9-10 p.m.

The morning prayer with its two *rak'a* took place so early that I had no possibility of witnessing it, my bedroom in the guests' wing in the courtyard being cut off from the family house.

The characteristic feature of the women's recital of the five daily prayers were the women acted individually, never in concert and not always at the same time (though, as the law prescribes, within the several prayer periods, which do not end until the next begins). Prayers were said in the home with the life of the family going on around the person praying. Children might be fighting for a knife in dangerous proximity to a saucepan filled with glowing charcoal and boiling water, the son might be sitting shaving himself, with the only possessor being in the room placed on one of the octagonal smoking tables, the room could be full of talking, tea-drinking people, nothing disturbed the deep concentration that is necessary if the prayer is not to lose its value and be repeated. Nor did anyone present make any direct attempt to commit the unforgivable *sin* of interrupting the worshipper.

Lane[9] may well be right in saying that in the case of the Kurds there is a certain prestige in showing oneself to be a pious Muslim, and that this can be extended also to apply to the women's display of

Fig. 91. Women praying in the forest on a snow beside the snow boots. Sadrina.